as regarde our rights, this international difficulty as regarde our regime, this international difficulty cancel long remain ar accommon without involving a screen savel at the fathy relations which it is the bettered as well at the fathy of both countries to cherish and preserve. It will afford me sincere gratification if there effects shall result in the success anticipated accordance with more confidence than the aspect of the case permits me now to entertain.

RECRUTTMENT. Dec edec subject of discussion between the United takes and Great Britain has grown out of the attempt thich the exigencies of the war in which she is enaced with Russia induced her to make, to draw re-

which size exigencies of the war in which are regard with Russia induced her to make, to draw regard with Russia induced her to make, to draw regards which from time to time occur among the great powers of the world. Performing all the duties of powers of the world. Performing all the duties of swarfallity toward the respective belligerent States, we may reasonably expect them not to interfere with our lawful enjoyment of its benefits. Notwithstanding the existence of such boellities, our citizens retain the individual right to continue all their accustomed pursuits, by land or by sea, at home or abroad, subject only to such restrictions in this relation as the laws of war, the mange of nations, or special treaties may impose; and it is our severeign right that our terrifory and jurisdiction shall not be invaded by either of the belligerent parties, for the transit of their armies, the operations of their fleets, the levy of troops for their service, the fitting out of cruisers by or against either, or any other act or incident of war. And these undeniable rights of neutrality, individual and national, the United States will under no circumstances surrender.

In pursuance of this policy, the laws of the United States do not forbid their citizens to sell to either of the beligerent powers, articles contraband of war, or to take munitions of war or soldiers on board their private ships for transportation; and although, in so doing, the individual citizen exposes his property or person to some of the hazards of war, his acts do not avolve any breach of national neutrality, nor of the medical private the Government. Thus, during avolve any breach of national neutrality, nor of themselves implicate the Government. Thus, during the progress of the present war in Europe, our citizens bave, without national responsibility therefor, sold ganpowder and arms to all buyers, regardless of the sectination of those articles. Our mercantmen have been, and still continue to be, largely employed by Great Britain and France, in transporting troops, provisions, and munitions of war to the principal sent of military operations, and in bringing nome their sick and wounded soldiers; but such use of our mercantile marine is not interdicted either by the international, or he our municipal law, and therefore does not compro-

marine is not interdicted either by the international, or by our municipal law, and therefore does not compro-nit our neutral relations with Russia.

But our municipal law, in accordance with the law of nations, peremptorily forbids, not only foreigners, but our own citizens, to fit out within the limits of the

but our own citizens, to fit out within the limits of the Paited States a vessel to commit hostilities against any State with which the United States are at peace, or to increase the force of any foreign-armed vessel intended for such hostilities against a friendly State.

What ever concern may have been felt by either of the beligerent powers lest private armed cruisers, are of the vessels in the service of one, might be fitted out in the ports of this country to depredate on the property of the other, all such fears have proved to be utterly groundless. Our citizens have been withheld from any such act or purpose by good faith, and by respect for the law.

spect for the law.

While the laws of the Union are thus peremptory in While the laws of the Union are thus peremptory in their prohibition of the equipment or armament of belligerent craisers in our ports, they provide not less absentely that no person shall, within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, calist or cuter him-self, or hire or retain another purson to enlist or cuter himself, or to go beyond the limits or jurisdiction of the United States with intent to be enlisted or entered, in United States with intent to be emisted or entered, in the service of any foreign State, either as a soldier, or as a marine or seaman on board of any vessel-of-war, letter of marque, or privateer. And these enactments are also in strict conformity with the law of nations, which declares, that no State has the right to raise troops for land or sea service in another State without its consent, and that, whether forbidden by the muni-cipal law or not, the year attempt to do it, without

troops for land or sea service in another State without its consent, and that, whether forbidden by the municipal law or not, the very attempt to do it, without such consent, is an attack on the national sovereignty. Such being the public rights and the municipal law of the United States, no solicitude on the subject was entertained by the Government, when, a year since, the British Parliament passed an act to provide for the enlistment of foreigners in the military service of Great Britain. Nothing on the face of the act, or in its public history, indicated that the British Government proposed to attempt recruitment in the United States; nor did it ever give intimation of such intention to this Government. It was matter of surprise, therefore, to find subsequently that the engagement of persons within the United States to proceed to Halifax, in the British Province of Nova Scotia, and there enlist in the service of Great Britain, was going on extensively, with little or no disguise. Ordinary legal steps were immediately taken to arrest and punish parties concerned, and so put an end to acts infringing the municipal law and derogatory to our sovereignty. Meanwhile suitable representations on the subject were addressed to the British Government.

Thereupon it became known, by the admission of the British Government itself, that the attempt to draw recruits from this country originated with it, or at least had its approval and sanction; but it also appeared that the public agents engaged in it had "stringent instructions" not to violate the municipal law of the United States.

It is difficult to understand how it should have been supposed that troops could be raised here by Great Britain without violation of the municipal law. The

It is difficult to understand how it should have been supposed that troeps could be raised here by Great Britain without violation of the municipal law. The unmistakable object of the law was to prevent every such act, which, if performed, must be either in violation of the law, or in studied evasion of it; and, in either alternative, the act done would be alike injurious to the sovereignty of the United States.

exister alternative, the act done would be alike injurious to the sovereignty of the United States.

Meantime, the matter acquired additional importance by the recruitments in the United States not being discontinued, and the disclosure of the fact that they were prosecuted upon a systematic plan devised by official authority; that recruiting rendezvous had been opened in the paincipal cities, and depots for the reception of recruits established on our frontier; and the whole business conducted under the supervision and by the regular cooperation of British officers, civil and military, some in the North American provinces, and some in the United States. The complicity of those officers in an undertaking which could only be accomplished by defying our laws, throwing suspicion over our attitude of neutrality, and disregarding our territorial rights, is conclusively proved by the evidence elicited on the trial of such of their agents as have been apprehended and convicted. Some of the officers thus implicated are of high official position, and many of them beyond our jurisdiction, so that legal proceedings could not reach the source of the mischief.

These considerations, and the fact that the cause of

legal proceedings could not reach the source of the mischief.

These considerations, and the fact that the cause of complaint was not a mere casual occurrence, but a deliberate design, entered upon with a full knowledge of our laws and national policy, and conducted by responsible public functionaries, impelled me to present the case to the British Government, in order to secure not only a cessation of the wrong, but its reparation. The subject is still under discussion, the result of which will be communicated to you in due time.

I repeat the recommendation submitted to the last Congress, that provision be made for the sppointment of a Commissioner, in connection with Great Britain, to survey and establish the boundary line, which divides the Territory of Washington from the contiguous British possessions. By reason of the extent and importance of the country in dispute, there has been imminent danger of colision between the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States, including their respective authorities in that quarter. The prespect of a speedy arrangement has contributed hitherto to induce on both sides forbearance to assert by force what each claims as a right. Continuance of delay on the part of the two Governments to act in the matter will increase the dangers and difficulties of the controversy.

Mismoderstanding exists as to the extent, character

ntrowersy.

Misunderstanding exists as to the extent, character Animalerstanding exists as to the extent, character and value of the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and the property of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, reserved in our treaty with Great Britain relative to the Territory of Oregon. I have reason to believe that a cession of the rights of both companies to the United States, which would be the companies to the United States, which would be the readiest means of terminating all questions, can be obtained on reasonable terms; and, with a view to this end, I present the subject to the attention of

this end, I present the subject to the attention of Congress.

The Colony of Newfoundland, having enacted the laws required by the treaty of the 5th of June, 1854, is now placed on the same footing, in respect to commercial intercourse with the United States, as the other British North American provinces.

The commission which that treaty contemplated, for determining the rights of fishery in rivers and mouths of twees on the coasts of the United States and the British North American provinces, has been organized and has commenced its labors: to complete which there is needed further appropriations for the service of another season.

Secund DUES.

SOUND DUES.

In pursuance of the authority, conferred by a resolution of the Senate of the United States passed on the 1 d of March last, notice was given to Denmark on the 1 th day of April, of the intention of this Government to avail itself of the stipulation of the subsisting convent ion of friendship, commerce, and nevigation between that kingdom and the United States, whereby either party might, after ten years, terminate the same at the expiration of one year from the date of notice for the 4 purpose.

The considerations which led me to call the attention of Commandate of the convention, and induced the

The conside rations which led me to call the atten-tion of Congres, to that convention, and induced the Schale to adopt, he resolution referred to, still continue in full force. The convention contains an article, which, although it, been not directly engage the United States to submit to the imposition of talls on the ves-

sels sed carroes of Americans passing into or from the Baltic Sea, during the continuance of the treaty, yet may, hy possibility, be construed as implying such submission. The exaction of those tains not being justified by any principle of international law, it became the right and the duty of the United States to relieve themselves from the implication of cagagement on the subject, so as to be perfectly free to act in the premises in such way as their public, interests and honor shall demand.

I remain of the opinion that the United States ought not to submit to the payment of the Sound Daes, not so much because of their amount, which is a secondary matter, but because it is in effect the recognition of the right of Denmark to treat one of the great maritime highways of nations as a close sea, and the navigation of it as a privilege for which tribute may be imposed upon those who have occasion to use it.

This Government, on a former occasion not unlike the present, signalized its determination to maintain the treedom of the seas and of the great natural channels of navigation. The Barbary States had for a long time coerced the payment of tribute from all nations whose ships frequented the Mediterranean. To the last demand of such payment made by them the United States, although suffering less by their depredations than many other nations, returned the explicit answer that we preferred war tribute, and thus opened the way to the relief of the commerce of the world from an ignominions tax so long submitted to by the more powerful nations of Europe.

If the manner of payment of Sound Dues differ from that of the tribute formerly conceded to the Barbary States, still their exaction by Denmark has no better foundation in right. Each was, in its origin, nothing but a tax on a common natural right, extorted by those who were at that time able to obstruct the free and secure enjoyment of it, but who no longer possess that power.

Denmark, while resisting our assertion of the free

Denmark, while resisting our assertion of the freedom of the Baltic Sound and Belts, has indicated a
readiness to make some new arrangement on the subject, and has invited the Governments interested, including the United States, to be represented in a Convention to assemble for the purpose of receiving and
considering a proposition, which she intends to submit,
for the capitalization of the Sound Dues, and the distribution of the sum to be paid as commutation among
the Governments, according to the respective proportions of their maritime commerce to and from the
Baltic. I have declined in behalf of the United States
to accept this invitation, for the most cogent reasons.
One is, that Denmark does not offer to submit to the
Convention the question of her right to levy the Sound Denmark, while resisting our assertion of the free One is, that Denmark does not offer to summ to the Convention the question of her right to levy the Sound Dues. A second is, that, if the Convention were allowed to take cognizance of that particular question, still it would not be competent to deal with the great international principle involved which affects the right in other cases of navigation and commercial freedom as well as that of access to the Baltic. Above all, by

as well as that of access to the Baltic. Above all, by
the express terms of the proposition it is contemplated
that the consideration of the Sound Dues shall be commingled with, and made subordinate to, a matter
wholly extraneous, the balance of power among the
Governments of Europe.

While, however, rejecting this proposition, and insisting on the right of free transit into and from the
baltic, I have expressed to Denmark a willingness, on
the part of the United States, to share liberally with
other powers in compensating her for any advantages
which commerce shall hereafter derive from expenditures made by her for the improvement and safety of
the navigation of the Sound or Belts.

I lay before you, herewith, sundry documents on the
subject, in which my views are more fully disclosed.
Should no satisfactory arrangement be soon concluded,
I shall again call your attention to the subject, with
recommendation of such measures as may appear to
be required in order to assert and secure the rights of
the United States, so far as they are affected by the be required in order to assert and secure the rights of the United States, so far as they are affected by the pretensions of Denmark.

FRANCE.

I announce with much gratification that, since the adjournment of the last Congress, the question then existing between this Government and that of France, respecting the French Consul at San Francisco, has been satisfactorily determined, and that the relations of the two Governments continue to be of the most friendly nature.

A question also which has been pending for several years between the United States and the Kingdom of Greece, growing out of the sequestration, by public authorities of that country, of property belonging to the present American Consul at Athens, and which had been the subject of very earnest discussion heretofore, has recently been settled to the satisfaction of the party interested and of both Governments.

SPAIN.
With Spain, peaceful relations are still maintained. With Spain, peaceful relations are still maintained, and some progress has been made in securing the redress of the wrongs complained of by this Government.

Spain has not only disavowed and disapproved the conduct of the officers who illegally seized and detained the steamer Black Warrior at Havana, but has also paid the sum claimed as indemnity for the loss thereby inflicted on citizens of the United States.

In consequence of a destructive hurricane which visited Cuba in 1844, the supreme authority of that island issued a decree, permitting the importation, for the period of six months, of certain building materials and provisions, free of duty, but revoked it when

and provisions, free of duty, but revoked it when about half the period only had clapsed, to the injury of the citizens of the United States, who had pro-ceeded to act on the faith of that decree. The Spanish Government refused indemnification to parties ag-grieved until recently, when it was assented to, pay-

grieved until recently, when it was assented to, payment being promised to be made so soon as the amount due can be ascertained.

Satisfaction claimed for the arrest and search of the steamer El Dorado has not yet been accorded, but there is every reason to believe that it will be, and that case, with others, continues to be urged on the attention of the Spanish Government. I do not abandon the hope of concluding with Spain some general arrangement, concluding with Spain some general arrangement, which, if it do not wholly prevent the recurrence of difficulties in Cuba, will render them less frequent, and whenever they shall occur facilitate their more speedy settlement.

The interposition of this Government has been invoked by many of its citizens, on account of injuries done to their persons and property, for which the Mexican Republic is responsible. The unhappy situation of that country, for some time past, has not allowed its Government to give due consideration to claims of private reparation, and has appeared to call for and justify some forbearance in such matters on the part of this Government. But if the revolutionary movements, which have lately occurred in that republic, end in the organization of a stable government, urgent appeals to its justice will then be made, and, it may be hoped, with success, for the redress of all complaints of our citizens. The interposition of this Government has been in of our citizens.

CENTRAL AMERICA CENTRAL AMERICA.

In regard to the American republics, which, from their proximity and other considerations, have peculiar relations to this Government, while it has been my constant aim strictly to observe all the obligations of political friendship and of good neighborhood, obstacles political friendship and of good neighborhood, obstacles to this have arisen in some of them, from their own insufficient power to check lawless irruptions, which, in effect, throws most of the task on the United States. Thus it is that the distracted internal condition of the State of Nicaragua has made it incumbent on me to appeal to the good faith of our citizens to abstain from unlawful intervention in its affairs, and to adopt preventive measures to the same end, which, on a similar occasion, had the best results in reassuring the peace of the Mexican States of Sonora and Lower California.

Since the last session of Congress a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, and for the surrender of fugitive criminals, with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with Nicaragua; and a convention of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiin kingdom, have been negotiated. The latter kingdom and the State of Nicaragua have also acceded to a declaration recognizing as international rights the psinciples contained in the convention between the United States and Russia of the 22d of July, 1854. These treaties and conventions will be laid before the Senate for ratification.

The statements made in my last Annual Message, respecting the anticipated receipts and expenditures of the Treasury have been substantially verified.

It appears from the report of the Secretary of the Treasury that the receipts during the last fiscal year ending June 30, 1855, from all sources, were \$65,003,930; and that the public expenditures for the same period, exclusive of payments on account of the public debt, amounted to \$56,365,393. During the same period the payments made in redemption of the public debt, including interest and premium, amounted

public debt, including interest and premium, amounted to \$9,844,528.

The balance in the Treasury at the beginning of the present fiscal year. July 1, 1855, was \$18,931,976; the receipts for the first quarter, and the estimated receipts for the remaining three quarters, amount, together, to \$67,918,734; thus affording in all, as the available resources of the current fiscal year, the sum of \$86,856,710.

sources of the current fiscal year, the sum of \$86,-856,710.

If to the actual expenditure of the first quarter of the current fiscal year be added the probable expenditures for the remaining three quarters, as estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury, the sum total will be \$71,226,846, thereby leaving an estimated balance in the Treasury on July 1, 1856, of \$15,623,873 41.

In the above estimated expenditures of the present fiscal year are included \$3,000,000 to meet the last installment of the \$10,000,000 provided for in the late treaty with Mexico, and \$7,750,000 appropriated on account of the Jebt due to Texas, which two sums make an aggregate amount of \$20,750,000, and reduce the expenditures, actual or estimated, for ordinary objects of the year, 10 the sum of \$60,776,000.

The amount of the publis debt at the commencement of the present facal year was \$40,583,631, and, deduction being made of subsequent payments, the whole public debt of the Federal Government remaining at

tion being made of stable-queue psyments, the activities in their termaining at this time is less than \$40,000,000.

The remnant of certain other Government stocks, amounting to \$23,000, referred to in my last Message as outstanding, has since been paid.

I am fully persuaded that it would be difficult to devise a system superior to that by which the fiscal business of the Government is now conducted. Notwithstanding the great number of public agents of collection and disbursement, it is believed that the checks and gaards provided, including the requirement of monthly returns, render it scarcely possible for any considerable fraud on the part of those agents, or neglect involving hazard of serious public loss, to escape detection. I renew, however, the recommendation, heretofore made by me, of the enartiment of a law declaring it felony on the part of public officers to insert false entries in their books of record or account, or to make false returns, and also requiring them on the termination of their service to deliver to their successors all books, records, and other objects of a public nature in their custody.

Derived as our public revenue is, in chief part, from duties on imports, its magnitude affords gratifying evidence of the prosperity, not only of our commerce.

duties on imports, its magnitude affords gratifying evidence of the prosperity, not only of our commerce, but of the other great interests upon which that de-

pends.

The principle that all moneys not required for the current expenses of the Government should remain for active employment in the hands of the people, and the conspicuous fact that the annual revenue from all active employment in the manus of the people, and the conspicuous fact that the annual revenue from all sources exceeds, by many millions of dollars, the amount needed for a pradent and economical administration of public affairs, cannot fail to suggest the propriety of an early revision and reduction of the tariff of duties on imports. It is now so generally conceded that the purpose of revenue alone can justify the imposition of duties on imports, that, in readjusting the impost tables and schedules, which unquestionably require exsential modifications, a departure from the quire essential modifications, a departure from principles of the present Tariff is not anticipated.

ARMY.

The army, during the past year, has been actively engaged in defending the Indian frontier, the state of the service permitting but few and small garrisons in our permanent fortifications. The additional regiments authorized at the last session of Congress have been recruited and organized, and a large portion of the troops have already been sent to the field. All the duties which devolve on the military establishment have been satisfactorily performed, and the dangers and privations incident to the character of the service have been satisfactorily performed, and the dangets and privations incident to the character of the service required of our troops have furnished additional evidence of their courage, zeal, and capacity to meet any requisition which their country may make upon them. For the details of the military operations, the distribution of the troops, and additional provisions required for the military service, I refer to the report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents.

Experience, gathered from events which have transpired since my last Annual Message, has but served to confirm the opinion then expressed of the propriety of

pired since my last Abrillar Message, has but served to confirm the opinion then expressed of the propriety of making provision by a retired list for disabled officers, and for increased compensation to the officers re-tained on the list for active duty. All the reasons which existed when these measures were recommended on former occasions continue without modification, except so far as circumstances have given to some of them additional force.

on former occasions continue without modification, except so far as circumstances have given to some of them additional force.

The recommendations, heretofore made for a partial reorganization of the army, are also renewed. The thorough elementary education given to those officers who commence their service with the grade of cadet, qualifies them to a considerable extent to perform the duties of every arm of the service; but to give the highest efficiency to artillery requires the practice and special study of many years; and it is not, therefore, believed to be advisable to maintain, in time of peace, a larger force of that arm than can be usually employed in the duties appertaining to the service of field and siege artillery. The duties of the staff in all its various branches belong to the movements of troops, and the efficiency of an army in the field would materially depend upon the ability with which those duties are discharged. It is not, as in the case of the artillery, a specially, but requires also an intimate knowledge of the duties of an officer of the line, and it is not doubted that, to complete the education of an officer for either the line or the general staff, it is desirable that he shall have served on both. With this view it was recommended on a former occasion that the duties of the staff should be mainly performed by details from the line; and, with conviction of the advantages which would result from such a change, it is again presented for the consideration of Congress.

NAVY.

The Report of the Secretary of the Navy, herewith submitted, exhibits in full the naval operations of the past year, together with the present condition of the service, and it makes suggestions of further legislation, to which your attention is invited.

The construction of the six steam-frigates, for which appropriations were made by the last Congress, has proceeded in the most satisfactory manner, and with such expedition as to warrant the belief that they will be ready for service early in the coming Spring. Important as this addition to our naval force is, it still remains inadequate to the contingent exigencies of the protection of the extensive sea-coast and vast commercial interests of the United States. In view of this fact, and of the acknowledged wisdom of the policy of a gradual and systematic increase of the navy, an appropriation is recommended for the construction of six steam sloops-of-war.

In regard to the steps taken in execution of the act of Congress to promote the efficiency of the navy, it is representation to say more than to express entire

of Congress to promote the efficiency of the navy, it is unnecessary for me to say more than to express entire concurrence in the observations on that subject pre-sented by the Secretary in his Report.

POST-OFFICE.

It will be perceived by the Report of the Postmaster General, that the gross expenditure of the Department for the last fiscal year was \$9,968,342, and the ment for the last fiscal year was \$9,968,342, and the gross receipts, \$7,342,136—making an excess of expenditure over receipts of \$2,626,296; and that the cost of mail transportation during that year was \$674,952 greater than the previous year. Much of the heavy expenditures to which the Treasury is thus subjected is to be askined to the large quantity of printed matter conveyed by the mails, either franked or liable to no postage by law, or to very low rates of postage compared with that charged on letters; and to the great cost of mail service on brailroads and by ocean steamers. The suggestions of the Postmaster-General on the subject deserve the consideration of Congress.

Congress.

INTERIOR.

The Report of the Secretary of the Interior will engage your attention, as well for useful suggestions it contains, as for the interest and importance of the subjects to which they refer.

The aggregate amount of public land sold during the last fiscal year, located with military scrip or land warrants, taken up under grants for roads, and selected as awamp lands by States, is 24,557,409 acres, of which the portion sold was 15,729,524 acres, yielding in receipts the sum of \$11,455,380. In the same period of time, 8,723,854 acres have been surveyed; but, in consideration of the quantity already subject to entry, no additional tracts have been brought into market.

The peculiar relation of the General Government to the District of Columbia renders it proper to commend to your care not only its material, but also its moral interests, including education, more especially in those parts of the District outside of the Cities of Washington and Georgetown.

The commissioners appointed to revise and codify the laws of the District have made such progress in the

parts of the District outside of the Utiles of Washington and Georgetown.

The commissioners appointed to revise and codify the laws of the District have made such progress in the performance of their task as to insure its completion in the time prescribed by the act of Congress.

Information has recently been received that the peace of the settlements in the Territories of Oregon and Washington is disturbed by hostilities on the part of the Indians, with indications of extensive combinations of a hostile character among the tribes in that quarter, the more serious in their possible effect by reason of the undetermined foreign interests existing in those Territories, to which your attention has already been especially invited. Efficient measures have been taken which, it is believed, will restore quiet and afford protection to our citizens.

protection to our citizens.

In the Territory of Kansas there have been acts pre In the Territory of Kansas there have been acts preindical to good order, but as yet none have occurred
under circumstances to justify the interposition of the
Federal Executive. That could only be in case of obstruction to Federal law, or of organized resistance to
Territorial law, assuming the character of insurrection,
which, if it should occur, it would be my duty promptly to overcome and suppress. I cherish the hope, however, that the occurrence of any such unfoward event
will be prevented by the sound sense of the people of
the Territory, who, by its organic law, possessing the
right to determine their own domestic institutions, are
entitled, while deporting themselves percefully, to the
free exercise of that right, and must be protected in
the enjoyment of it, without interference on the part of
the citizens of any of the States.

The southern boundary line of this Territory has
never been surveyed and established. The rapidlyextending settlements in that region, and the fact that
the main route between Independence, in the State of
Missouri, and New-Mexico, is contiguous to this line,

Missouri, and New-Mexico, is contiguous to this line, suggest the probability that embarrassing questions of jurisdiction may consequently arise. For these and other considerations I commend the subject to your

CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT. CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have thus passed in review the general state of the Union, including such particular concerns of the Federal Government, whether of domestic or foreign relations, as it appeared to me desirable and useful to bring to the special notice of Congress. Unlike the great States of Europe and Asis, and many of those of America, these United States are vasting their strength neither in foreign war nor domestic strife. Whatever

of discontent or public diseatisfaction exists, is attribate bie to the imperfections of human nature, or is incident to all governments, however perfect, which haman wisdom can devise. Such subjects of political agritation as occupy the public mind, consist, to a great extent, of exagg ration of inevitable evils, or over zeal in social improvement, or mere imagination of grievance, having but remote connection with any of the constitutional functions or duties of the Federal Government. To whatever extent these questions exhibit a tendency menacing to the stability of the Constitution, or the integrity of the Union, and no further, they demand the consideration of the Executive, and require to be presented by him to Congress.

Before the Thirt on Colonies became a confederation of independent States they were associated only by community of trans-Atlantic origin, by geographical position, and by the mutual tie of common dependence on Great Britain. When that the was sundered, they severally assumed the powers and rights of absolute self-government. The municipal and social institutions of each, its laws of property and of personal relation, even its political organization, were such only as each

of each, its laws of property and of personal relation, even its political organization, were such only as each one chose to e-tablish, wholly without interference from my other. In the language of the Declaration of Independence, each State had "full power to levy "war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." The several colonies differed in climate, in soil, in natural productions, in religion, in systems of education, in legislation, and in the forms of political administration; and they continued to differ in these respects when they voluntarily allied themselves as States to carry on the war of the Revolution.

The object of that war was to disenthrall the United Colonies from foreign rule, which had proved to be op-

of a federal republic of the free white men of the celonics, constituted, as they were, in distinct and reciprocally independent State governments. As for the subject races, whether Indian or African, the wise and brave statesmen of that day, being engaged in no extravagant scheme of social change, left them as they were, and thus preserved themselves and their posterity from the anarchy and ever-recturing civil wars, which have neveralled in other revolutionized European Colonics of America.

When the contederated Sec.

Thus and thus only, by the reciprocal gustanty of all the rights of every State against interference on the part of another, was the present form of government established by our fathers and transmitted to us; and by no other means is it possible for it to exist. If one State ceases to respect the rights of another, and obtrusively intermedules with its local interests—it a portion of the States assume to impose their institutions on the others, or refuse to infull their obligations to them—we are no longer united, friendly States, but distracted, hostile ones, with little capacity left of common advantage, but abundant means of reciprocal injury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether aggressive interference between the States, or deliberate refusal on the part of any one of them to comply with constitutional obligations, arise from er-

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

by direction or indirection. In either case, it is till of threat and of danger to the durability of the Union.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

Placed in the office of Chief Magistrate as the executive agent of the whole country, bound to take care that the laws be intifully executed, and specially enjoined by the Constitution to give information to Concress on the State of the Union, it would be palpable neglect of duty on my part to pass over a subject like this, which, bevond all things at the present time, the wold be palpable neglect of duty on my part to pass over a subject like this, which, bevond all things at the present time, vitally concerns individual and public security.

It has been master of painful regret to see States, conspicuous for their services in founding this Republic and equally sharing its advantages, disregard their constitutional obligations to it. Although conscious of their inability to hear admitted and palpable social evils of their own, and which are completely within their jurisdiction, they engage in the offensive and hopeless undertaking of reforming the domestic institutions of other States wholly beyond their control and authority. In the vain pursuit of ends by them entirely unnattainable, and which they may not iterally attempt to compress, they peril the very existence of the Constitution, and all the countiess benefits which it has conterred. While the people of the Southern States coming their attention to their own affairs, not presuming officiously to internedille with the social institutions of the Northern States, too many of the inhabitants of the latter are permanently organized in associations to infinite hingro on the former by wrongful acts, which would be cause of war as between foreign Powers, and only fail to be such in our system because perpetrated under cover of the Union.

It is impossible to present this subject as truth and the occasion require, without noticing the reiterated but groundless alterations to the foreign the present and particular

South.

When Louisiana was acquired by the United States, it was an acquisition not less to the North than to the South; for while it was important to the country at the mouth of the river Mississippi to become the country at the mouth of the river Mississippi to become the emporium of the country above it, so also it was even more important to the whole Union to have that emporium; and although the new province, by reason of its imperfect settlement, was mainly regarded as on the Gulf of Mexico, yet in fact it extended to the opposite boundaries of the United States, with far greater breath above than below, and was, in territory as in overything else, equally at least an accession to the Northern States. It is mere delusion and prejudice, therefore, to speak of Louisiana as acquisition in the special interest of the South.

The particular and just men, who participated in that act (were induced by motives far above all ecctional justicular in turb the great event, which by completing for us the possession of the valley of the Mississippi, with commercial access to the Gulf of Mexico, imparted unity and strength to the whole Confederation, and attached together by indissoluble ties the East and the West, as well as the North and the South.

As to Florida, that was but the transfer by Spain to the United States of territory on the east side of the River Mississippi, in exchange for large territory which the United States frameformed to Spain on the west edde of that river, as the entire diplomatic history of the transaction serves to demonstrate. Moreover, it was an acquisition demanded by the commercial interests and the security of the valid of the River, as the entire diplomatic history of the transaction serves to demonstrate. Moreover, it was an acquisition demanded by the commercial interests and the security of the whole Union.

Meantime, the people of the United States had grown up to a proper concellourness of their strength, and it a brief contest with France, and it a second serious war with Great Br en Louisiana was acquired by the United States, it was an

Europe, and du orged from the store of these transaliantic influences which europeales, the infant Kepubiu and had begun to turn their attention. It has full and existential development of the internal row orese of the Union.

Among the evaluate, an aentroversion of that period, the most conspicuous was less precion of regulation, by Congress, of the acial condition of the future States to be founded in the Territory of Lemissum.

The ordinators for the government of the territory north-west of the river Ohio had contained a prevision, which prohibited the use of errule labor therein, subject to the condition of the

Louisians, proposition was made to extend to the latter territory the restruction originally applied to the country situated between the rivers Ohio and Mismissippi.

Most questionable as was this proposition in all its constitutional relations, nevertheless it received the sanction of Countries, with some slight modifications of line, to save the existing takes of the intended new State. It was reluctantly assumesced in by Southern States as a sacrifice to the cause of peace and of the Union, not only of the rights stipulated by the treaty of Leuisiana, but of the principle of equality among the States ratiotically the proposition of the states of the

of Louisiana.
In all this, if any aggression there were, any It novation upoprexisting rights, to which portion of the Union are they just

But, the good sense of the propose and the train of the political errors of the day and the State of Poxas returned to the Licin as she was, with social institutions which her people had chosen for themselves, and with express agreement, by the reamening at, that she should be susceptible of subdivision into a plurality of States.

Whatever advantage the interests of the Southern States, as such, gained by this, were far inferior in results, as they unfolded in the progress of time, to those which sprang from previous concessions made by the South.

To every from that it must of the Union; to the true lovers of their country for all who touged and tabored for the full success of this great experiment of republican institutions, it was cause of gratulation that such an opportunity had occurred to illustrate our advancing power on this continent, and to turnish to the world adultional assurance of the strength and stanish to the world adultional assurance of the strength and stanish to the world adultional assurance of the strength and stanish. And yet narrow views and sectional purposes westle appreciate the incalculable incention of the aquasition of Lausiana. And yet narrow views and sectional purposes westle mentions of the acquisition of Lausiana. And yet narrow views and sectional purposes westle mentions are successed as the same point ensued, when our interest armies returned from Mexico, and it devotred on

amation regarding the provisions of law for the extra

thus relieve it from obstacles valued up by the legislation of some values.

Vain declamation regarding the provisions of law for the extradition of rightives from service, with occasional episodes of trantic effort to obstruct their execution by riot and marder, continued for a brief time to agitate certain focalities. But the true principle of leaving ones State and Territory to regulate its own raws of abor according to its own sense of right and expedicitey, but acquired that hold of the public judgment to such a degree that, by common consent, it was observed in the organization of the Territory of Washington.

When, more recently, it became requisite to organize the Territories of Nebrasia and Kansas, it was the natural and legislation, that the same great and sound principle, which had already been applied to Utah and New-Mexico, should be applied to them; that they should stand exempt from the restrictions proposed in the act relative to the State of Misaouri.

These restrictions were, in the estimation of many thoughful men, null from the beginning, unauthorized by the Constitution, centrary to the treaty stipulations for the cession of Louisana, and inconsistent with the equality of the States.

They had been stripped of all moral authority, by persistent efforts to procure their indirect ropeal through contradictory enuctments. They had been practically abrogated by the legislation attending the organization of Utah, New-Mexico and Washington. If any vitality remained in them, it would have been taken away in effect by the new Territorial acts, in the form originally proposed to the Senate at the first session of the permissible future benefit; and the measure of its repeal was the final consummation and complete recognition of the principle that no portion of the Luited States shall undertake, through assumption of the powers of the General Government, to dictate the social institutions of any other purition.

The scope and effect of the language of repeal were not left in doubt. It was declared, in

it constituted a breach or latin. Never was appeared in the provision of the property of the p

tates.

But deplorable as would be such a violation of compact in

minority, and place in presence of each other two irreconcus-bly hostile confederations? It is necessary to speak thus plainly of projects, the offspring of that sections, agitation now prevailing in some of the States, which are as a prescriciable as they are unconstitutional, and which, if persevered in, must and will end calamitously. It is either disunion and civil war, or it is mere anyry, idle, simless disturbance of public peace and tranquility. Disunion for what? If the passionnet rage of fanaticism and partisan spirit slid not force the fact upon our attention, it would be difficult to believe that any considerable portion of the people of this fin-lightened country could have so surrendered themselves to a fanatical devotion to the supposed interests of the relatively few Africans in the United States, as totally to abundon and disre-gard the interests of the twenty-five millions of Americans—to trample under foot the injunctions of moral and Constitution-al obligation—and to engage in plans of vindicitive hostility against those who are associated with them in the enjoyment of the common heritage of our national institutions.

thousand times than all the wild and chimerical schemes of social change, which are generated, one after another, in the markable minds of visionary sophists and interested agitators. I rely confidently on the patriottem of the people, on the dignits and self-respect of the States, on the wisdom of Congress, and, above all, on the continued gracious favor of Almighty God to maintain, against all enemies, whether at home or abroad, the sanctity of the Constitution and the integrity of the Union. Washington, December 31, 1853. FRANKLIN PIERCE.

A young man named Gilbert Sanford, residing at No. 250 Thirty ninth street, was found on Sunday evening lying insensible Station, where, after receiving medical aid, he partially recovered and stated that a conductor on one of the Elighth-avenue care had pushed him off the car. He was sent to the New-York Hospital, where he lies in a critical condition, it being feared

ALLEGED OUTRAGE BY A RAILBOAD CONDUCTOR.

## MORE TROUBLE IN KANSAS.

FREE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTION.

CHICAGO, Monday, Dec. 31, 1885. A letter from Westport, Mo., dated the 18th inst., to The St. Louis Intelligencer, says that the border Mis-sourians mobbed the Kansas electors at different points along the river on the occasion of voting for the adoption of the Free-State Constitution on the 15th pst. At several places the Missourians would not allow the pells to be opened.

At Leavenworth a large band destroyed the ballot-

boxes and maitreated the Judges of Election. The Lexington (Mo.) Herald of the 22d says:

"At Leavenworth a collision occurred between the Pro and Anti-Slavery parties. The ballot-boxes were destroyed and the voting stopped. An Anti-Slavery man's house was burned. A man was arrested, charged with having set the house on fire, and was lodged in iail. His friends thereupon broke open and burned down the iail. Much excitement ensued, and both

THE RUFFIANS AGAIN-THE POLLS AT-TACKED-THREATENING SPEECHES.

LEAVENWORTH, (K. T.) Dec. 17, 1855. When I left Lawrence I intended to go up to Doniphan, but had learned that there was a determination on the party the "Platte County Boys" to mob the election. The rainy and stormy weather prevented my going, and kept me at Leavenworth; perhaps Providence had determined that I should thus be a witness to a most outrageous act of violence. I had feared very much that the rain would keep

the voters away, but on Saturday afternoon it cleared away cold and sharp, but with sunlight and fair weather. The voters came in, not so numerous as on other occasions, but by noon there were nearly three hundred votes polled; and as the voting had only commenced at 10 o'clock, it was supposed that there would be at least six or seven hundred votes counted. My attention was first attracted by large boat-loads of people coming over the river. The ferry-boat is a large, wide flatboat, capable of holding several wagons or many horsemen. They had commenced crossing in parties of ten or a dozen early in the forencon; but about 12 o'clock they came over in whole boat-loads, and the island opposite seemed to be alive with them. About noon I learned from a person who had come down the river side that they were also crossing at the horse-ferry at Fort Leavenworth, three miles above, and were coming down by land. As the Missourians have never voted at these elections, pronouncing them "illegal," and have merely attempted to intimidate, I naturally concluded that all of these Platte County secundrels were not coming over for any good. On inquiry I learned that Brigadier-General Easton, of the Territorial Militia, had stated in his paper and had proclaimed that his "brigade" should be disbanded in Leavenworth that day; and as these fellows had been out in the "law and order" campsign against the "Abolitionists" of Lawrence, they were over today to get " an honorable discharge," which should entitle them to the gratitude of Uncle Sam, to the tune of \$2 50 a day. Bad as this version of the story looked, I suspected that it only explained part of the truth. That the disbanding should have been postponed for five days, might have been accounted for on a mathematical calculation, to the effect that these five days would amount to \$12 50 extra per man; but that it should have fallen exactly on the day that the new Constitution, framed at Topeka, was to be submitted to the people, looked a little like a calculation on the part of the gallant General Easton, or whoever had been at the

bottom of it.
I watched the emigration of these Border Ruffians for some time, and without the slightest wish to exaggerate, I do not think I ever before saw so many cut-throat-looking villains in one crowd.
The groceries were througed, and the spirit of evil
commenced its work of inspiration. Hard-featured and whisky-flavored, unkempt, unshaved—they evidently belonged to "the great unwashed and "unterrified." With red blankets and blue blanket and dirty-white blankets, and no blankets at all; with "garments dyed in mud," and of a homespunish look, and many of them with long Western riff's, they swaggered about, cursing the "Abelitionists" generally, and a few persons about Leavenworth in particular.

About I o'clock I went to dinner. I had learned

that the parade and disbanding were to come off at 2, and faneying that nothing would happen before that time, went to my hotel; but I was mistaken. The Clerks and Judges of Elections had been closing the polls to go to dinner; all of them had left the voting-room but three. The voting had been done at a window, and to this the crewd I have been describing made a rush; they were led on by two prominent Pro-Slavery men who live in the country a few miles out, the one an Irish Roman Catholic named Dunn, the other was Judge Payne, who was elected Judge of Leavenworth dently a Southern man, and just as evidently not afflicted with any kind of religion. The window was driven in, glass, sash, frame and all. Duen got on the sill and commenced a delectable form-

In the name of 'law and order' I demand that

"No d-d parleying," cried Payne, cocking six-shooter and presenting it at the clerks. "Take the box, G-d d-n it, take the box!"

Two of the three persons in the room at the time it was attacked, got off without injury, having arms; the third, a man named Wetherill, one of the clerks of election, and who was unarmed, tried to take away the ballot-box, and make his eacape by a door opening on another street. Closely pressed, he threw the bex under a counter, and as he emerged into the muddy street was knocked down by clubs. Not less than thirty men were around him and jumping on him. One man had an ax raised to strike him, if he could have done so for the crewd. It was the work of an instant, and immediately some few of the Free-State men who had not been frightened off, interfered. The first who interposed was a Pro-Slavery man, who seemed to have a trifle of the Samaritan in him; but a young man from York State, named Anthony, and a man named Brown, both good and tried Free-State men, cocked their pistols and rushed forward, as did some others. Wetheril was raised and carried home; and although he received some severe injuries, I am happy to add he is recov-

ering.

The mob having got possession of the ballot-box and poll-books, paraded them off in triumph.

The streets resounded with shrieks and yells, and it was evident that the half-tipsy invaders were ripe for further mischief. I walked through and among them, to hear their threats and exulta-tions; I heard them discuss the next step in the pregramme, which was to throw the newspaper office of Col. Delahay into the river. Seeing this, I inquired of one leading Free-State men, for the whereabout of the Mayor. Mayor Slocum had, I knew, been elected by the Free-State men, by a large majority; but it turned out that the Mayer, like many others of the Free-State men who have taken the lead here, was not "in the breach" in the hour of danger. He had sent up to the fort for troops; a message which I knew was utterly futile, as the reply of the commandant, who refused to come, proved. A panic had seized the Free-State men, or rather they wanted some bold and active leaders. The polls had been violated while most of the people were at dinner; but the Border of the people were at dinner; but the Border Ruffians kept possession of the quarter of the few Free-State men were to be seen venturing among them. Perhaps the apology for this timid